



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# ETHICAL ASPECTS OF CHILKAT CULTURE

By W. D. WALLIS, Fresno, California

## INTRODUCTION

The Chilkat, a tribe of the Tlingit linguistic group, live at the head of Lynn canal, north of Dixon entrance, in "Russian" Alaska. In 1890 the population was estimated at 812; the census of 1910 gives the population as 690.

The ensuing account is based on information obtained in Philadelphia in 1912 and 1913 from Louis Shotridge, or Xarits, a native Chilkat from the village of Klukwan. Mrs. Gerda Sebbelov Guy assisted in procuring the information and to her is due the credit for a considerable portion of it.

The informant's viewpoint has been considerably affected by his contact with civilization and cannot with any assurance be accepted as typically Chilkat. Since the tribal life is broken up into hierarchical social units it is doubtful whether any typical individual view of tribal life is to be found, since individuals necessarily see their social world from different backgrounds and with varying interest in its component parts. This was realised by the informant himself who frequently pointed out that the appeal made to him as a member of one of the two dominant groups might differ somewhat from the appeal made by the same facts to a member of one of the lower clans.

## TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Chilkat are divided into two exogamous groups, or moieties, known respectively as Eagle and Raven. These moieties are composed of smaller totemic groups, or clans, as represented in the following table:<sup>1</sup>

EAGLE,	RAVEN,
Bear	Whale
Killer-whale	Raven
Eagle	Giant
Wolf	Worm
Fishhawk	Frog
Shark	

---

<sup>1</sup> Swanton gives the fundamental divisions of the Tlingit as Raven and Wolf, but states that in the north the latter was known also as Eagle. (26th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,

There is a chief for each moiety and one for each clan. The chief of the Whale clan is, *ipso facto*, chief of the Raven moiety, the chief of the Bear clan being, similarly, chief of the Eagle moiety.

Many facts point to the moieties as the fundamental divisions. A man belongs, first of all, to a moiety and his duties to it take precedence, generally, over his duties to the tribe. One moiety may fight with another tribe and the complementary moiety refuse to participate. Relations between the two moieties may become strained to the breaking point of open hostility. At such times wives leave their husbands and go to the houses of members of their own moiety. Should they suffer injury at the hands of members of their husband's moiety, redress would be demanded from that moiety by the moiety to which the wives belong. On one occasion, a few years ago, a fence of sticks was built through the village to keep the two moieties separate. Only messengers were allowed to cross it and any other who attempted to do so would be killed.

Punishment for serious offences, such as murder and adultery, is meted out by the moiety to which the injured person belongs. In one instance, a man while drunk had murdered his wife. Her clan was higher than his, and her moiety decreed that his sister and mother must die to expiate the crime. They were, accordingly, shot by members of the murdered woman's moiety. Two days elapsed before final decision was reached on the punishment to be exacted, as the consent of the moiety of the murderer to the decision was necessary. This was obtained only after several deliberations

---

1904-5. See, also, E. Sapir, Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes. Trans. Roy. Soc. of Canada, May, 1915.)

In an account of the tribal organization of the Chilkat published by Shotridge in the *Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania*, Sept., 1913, he adheres to the divisions of Raven and Eagle. The subdivisions, however, differ from those given the writer at an earlier date and listed above.

His published list is as follows:

EAGLE,		RAVEN,	
Chief {	Grizzly Bear	Chief {	Whale
Family {	Killer-whale	Family {	Raven
	Murrelet		Kosh-day-woo-si-ta-ye-ka (human
	Wolf		spirit turned into land otter.)
	Eagle		Monster Worm
	Spirit of Tsih-ko River		Frog
	Shark		Crow

In this list also there is one more clan in the Eagle moiety than in the Raven.

and many interchanges of messages between the two moieties. A similar circumstance arose and was similarly decided when the young chief of one of the moieties was known to have seduced the wife of the chief of the other moiety.

Marriage of a parent with a child is forbidden; otherwise, the ethics of marital relations seems determined by the moiety exogamy and the clan levels. A man may marry his father's sister for she is not of his moiety. It is alleged that a man might marry even his paternal grandmother, but under no circumstances his maternal grandmother. 'To marry a member of your own moiety is the same as to marry your own sister.'

Both social and economic specialisation is represented by the clan divisions. The Bears are the carvers; they are aristocratic and have considerable leisure; the Killer-whales are the speakers and advisers. The Sharks are the warriors; they can fight like sharks. The Whales made the first blankets, and at the present day do the weaving.

The order of the clans given in the above table represents the respective levels at which marriage is possible. Thus, a Bear should marry a Whale, a Killer-whale a Raven, an Eagle, a Giant, and so on. It is very important that a woman marry on her own level. A man may marry where he likes so long as he does not violate the moiety exogamy. A woman who marries below her moiety, or without the tribe, loses membership in her clan and cannot be reinstated. Her children also are barred. A man belongs where he is born and there is no way in which he can rise to a clan higher than his own. The superior clans are not, however, always the more wealthy ones. A man of the Bear clan may be very poor while one of the Shark clan may be very wealthy. Many of the Sharks are, at present, people of considerable wealth, though this does not entitle them to any higher social position. On the other hand, display and a big show only secure the disapprobation of members of the more aristocratic clans who know that the pretenders are, after all, "only Sharks." The Eagles are the speakers and councillors. The Killer-whale people, for example, might call in a Shark rather than an Eagle to give them advice, the personal worth of the man being the determining factor. In wealth the Frog people now stand next to the Whales; yet they were spoken of by Shotridge disparagingly as being the kind of people who "do a little thing and go out of doors and howl about it." The inequality of the clans is reflected in the demands made upon the moiety as punishment for the crime of one of its members. The

murderer referred to above was of a clan lower than that of his wife and his moiety was required to sacrifice two individuals 'to even things up.' If the murdered woman had belonged to the same clan as the murderer only one life would have been required in expiation. This method of punishment affords an additional reason for discountenancing unequal marriages. In this instance the murderer wept and begged to be allowed to die in stead of his condemned sister and mother; but this the moiety of his wife would not permit.

Relations between members of the same clan are generally pleasant though not invariably so. Disputes between clans are arbitrated by the moiety, as are also serious disputes between members of the same clan, if they cannot be settled within the clan. Usually the clan decides disputes which arise among its own members. There is today ill-feeling between two groups within the Bear clan which is explained as follows: Several generations ago the oldest son in the line of descent married a woman of a lower clan and a younger son was made chief to his exclusion. The respective supporters of these two men form two factions at the present day.

In former days members of different clans within the same moiety did not mingle freely, and even to-day the boys in their games observe these clan distinctions. They will run away from a boy of a higher clan, for parents must pay for an injury done by their child to the child of another. When the chief of a moiety is injured by a man of the complementary moiety the entire moiety of the offender must make redress. The moiety of the offender will then perform one of the ceremonial dances which is the property of the moiety of the offended chief.

#### SLAVES

Slaves were sometimes captured from the Haida or Tsimshian and sometimes captured in war. War captives were given the choice of death or slavery, and if they made the latter choice were expected to abide by it. Escape was seldom attempted and almost never successful. The mountains of the interior shut out hope of escape by land and the water routes remained the only alternative. Each chief had a trained crew of sixteen rowers who held themselves in readiness to pursue fugitive slaves. When sent on such a mission they were told: "You will receive such and such punishment if you do not capture and bring back that slave." As a matter of fact they always did capture the slave even if he had started a day or two in advance of them. The owner of a slave might

administer such punishment as he chose. As a warning to other slaves, the owner of a fugitive slave might inflict death upon one who had attempted to escape, or he might punish lightly or not at all. Slaves were usually well treated and were worthy of confidence. Some of them were old and trusty story-tellers whose principal occupation was to look after the children of the higher families. Some became wealthy and might themselves own slaves. They were sometimes given their liberty, as, for example, at the building of a new clan house or moiety house; but they could never claim liberty. Three generations ago when the house of the Raven moiety was built, the chief of that moiety freed six slaves for each post. He could then boast of having 'freed the Kwakiutl tribe.' The informant's father when he, as Raven chief, built the Raven house, freed slaves as the respective corner posts were put into the ground. He ordered the respective slave to put his mark on the post near the end which was planted in the earth. The post was then dropped into the hole which had been prepared for it and the slave told: "You are free."<sup>2</sup>

Slaves owned by cruel masters would attempt to escape while those owned by kind masters did not wish to leave.

#### TRADERS AND VISITORS

There seem to have been few winter tribal visits except such as had to do with trade in one form or another. The Kwakiutl did not visit the Chilkat, "probably because they were afraid to come among us." The most intimate relations were with the Haida and the Stik, from the Yukon. When a Haida chief came to visit, the Chilkat held dances and games to entertain their guests. The entertainment was provided by all the members of the higher clans. Some chiefs were very poor not knowing how to take care of their money. If a wealthy chief came and the chief of the corresponding Chilkat moiety were too poor to entertain him, the members of the other moiety would provide the hospitality. When a large party of Haida came in their canoes for trading purposes they were saluted by the Chilkat, who gave them a dance by way of friendly greeting. The Haida then came ashore, washed, dressed in dancing costume, and gave a dance by way of returning the greeting. Everything needed was provided for the Haida as long as their visit lasted.

The Chilkat met the Yukon or Stik Indians once a year

---

<sup>2</sup> Formerly slaves were killed when the house posts were erected (Swanton; Krause).

at a place intermediate between the tribal lands, for the purpose of trading. Here, too, dances were given in extending and returning greetings, the participants being decorated with eagle and ptarmigan feathers. Even the mothers carrying babies on their backs joined in the dances. Each man traded with a special man year after year, and would trade with no one else until he had offered his wares to him and he had gotten what he wanted. This right to trade with a particular man seems to be an inheritable right. Shotridge's father traded with a special man among the Stik Indians, this right having been willed to him by the latter's maternal uncle. This Stik would trade with no one else until Shotridge's father had come; when exchange with him had been effected, he was free to trade with any one.

The Kwakiutl are spoken of disparagingly as a people who "do nothing and are no good." "They say they fit their heads to their head-dress; they ought to make their head-dress fit their heads. We have some sense: we fit our head-dress to our heads. That goes to show what they are. The Stik Indians are fine people. They live out of doors, get their food by hunting, and move their camp when they want new food. They live close to nature; they dance when in the mood; they are like animals—they live so close to nature." For the Indians of the Plains, with whom the informant had little acquaintance except through Museum collections, he had the greatest contempt. "They have only beads and showy things. But take the Pueblo Indians. They have some sense. They make pottery with designs that resemble our own. There is some sense to that." Throughout his discussion of other tribes it was noticeable that those who were like the Chilkat were "sensible and had some judgment," while those of different culture were "foolish and had no sense," but our informant seemed quite unconscious of the basis of his distinction.

### THE FAMILY

Much of the social life centers about the family. Husband and wife may begin married life in the home of his parents, in that of her parents, or in a house of their own. But the proper place, if they have no house of their own, is the house of the husband's mother's eldest brother. The families dwell in wooden houses in which live sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes as many as five or six families. The family of the chief and his slaves always have a house to themselves. One of the informant's uncles, a member of one of the higher

clans, shared a house with another family, but his own portion of the house was separated from the rest by a partition. "It is more sociable to be together. If one family can not get along with the others it moves to another house; but there is seldom any trouble." Each house has a head. This position may be filled by a woman or by a man. In those families in which more than one family live there is a communal house-life in which all participate.

"We do not marry out of love but out of respect. We are not told to love one another but to respect one another." Each shall be mindful of his or her duties toward the other especially as regards kind treatment and performing the allotted tasks. Neither divorce nor separation is recognised.

#### EDUCATION BY STORY AND TRADITION

In each house, not necessarily in each family, there is some one person whose particular duty it is to tell stories to the children. Some of these stories relate the origin of the tribe and of the various clans; some contain a moral, either by way of direct suggestion, or by recounting the misfortunes that befell those who disobeyed an honored custom or expressed command.

The stories are usually told by the older people, sometimes by the women, more often by the men. Frequently this duty falls upon one of the old trusty slaves, probably a Kwakiutl who is well versed in the affairs of the tribe. The Kwakiutl sometimes introduced Kwakiutl stories, usually, but not always, mentioning their origin. When, as sometimes happens, an uncle, a grand-uncle or a grand-parent comes to live in a family he or she will act as story-teller. Every night the children, both boys and girls, gather around the fire to listen to these stories. If they show signs of drowsiness the narrator cleverly inserted some amusing anecdote, perhaps something irrelevant to the story to renew their flagging interest. This rouses everyone; all laugh and the narrator again has the lively interest of his auditors. As a result of this method the stories come to incorporate elements which did not originally belong to them. The stories proper are said to contain no humorous portions.

When the children are about fourteen or fifteen years of age they tell the stories which have been narrated to them, the old people listening and making corrections. This they do for some time, both boys and girls, until they are well versed in the art, the younger children, meanwhile learning from them.



Some of the stories are very long—so long that the narrator has to stop for bed-time. It will be resumed the following evening. If the narrator has left a story incomplete the children will not fail to remind him of it the following evening. They are told only in the winter evenings. There is no taboo on telling stories in the summer, but the people are too busy to narrate them.

Children are told to obey and not ask many questions. Frequently a story is referred to by way of enforcing obedience. The children rise early in the morning, the oldest one building the fire and preparing breakfast. An incentive to be up early may be found in the following teaching: "The spirit of Success passes by early in the morning. He comes in to warm himself at the first fire that is built. He is an old man. He comes in to warm his hands. That is why you should be up early."

In the higher clans the children eat apart by themselves and before their elders have eaten. They have their own plates and knives. This is done to keep them from wanting things which the elders have; also, because they will not then annoy the parents.

Among the edibles taboo to children are sweets, food imported from without the Chilkat territory, any animal that they cannot themselves procure, and shell-fish, lest they be poisoned by the 'copper' that is often found deposited upon shell-fish.

The following story conveys its own moral:

A boy was down by the river setting snares for water fowl. He was hungry, ran back to his mother and asked for something to eat. His mother took from the basket a piece of salmon that was slightly mouldy on one side. Now mouldy salmon is the very best kind. But the boy did not know this. He threw the salmon into a corner and said in anger, "I did not want mouldy salmon."

At this moment another boy called out, "A duck is in the snare." He rushed to the bank of the river, and, while attempting to get hold of the duck, waded out too far and was covered over by the water. All about him he found fish talking his language. He scarcely knew whether they were human beings or fish. It was an interesting experience and he forgot about his home. He went to the village of these creatures. Here he found himself in a village of these fishes and did not know how to get out of it. The first thing that attracted his attention was a salmon lying in the street—that is, in one of the creeks which, to him, looked like streets. His companion said, "When you feel hungry push over a young fellow, pick him up, carry him away and eat him." Seeing a fine young fellow ahead he pushed him over, picked him up and carried him away. He had been told by his companion not to leave any pieces of the salmon lying around after roasting it, but to burn up all that was left. He did as he had been told. When he returned his companion asked him what

success he had had. Just then the salmon which he had roasted came back crying from a pain in one eye. "Go back and see whether some portion was left unconsumed by the fire," said his comrade. He returned and found that one eye of the salmon was in the ground at the end of the stake. (Fastening the salmon to the end of a stick in this manner was the first method of cooking.)

Next time he chose a humped-back salmon. His companion bade him pull the bark from a certain tree, put it around the fish and roast it in that. He pushed one over and carried it away. He pulled the bark from both sides of the tree, placed the salmon within it, stitched the bark around with spruce root, then covered it over with swamp cabbage and leaves, and put the whole in a heated pit where he had placed hot stones. (This was the origin of the present Chilkat method of roasting salmon.) The color of the bark was left on the fish. Later he saw this humped-back salmon crying from a pain in its jaw. Returning to the place where he had cooked it he found that a part of its jaw was not consumed. Another time he had carried off a piece of salmon and was eating it when he heard someone remark, 'Mouldy head.' Thereupon he discovered that he was among the Salmon people. Now, 'mouldy head' was the very expression his mother had used when she gave him the piece of salmon to eat. He felt home-sick and wished to go home. He observed two large swans jumping up and down in the creek. His companion said, "Jump upon the back of that swan." He did so. The swan was now sometimes in the water and sometimes in the air. He forgot his home-sickness. Next day he heard noises coming from a large house. The people within were feasting and dancing. It was the Herring house. He asked permission to enter. "You must be clothed properly," he was told. He obtained regalia and his partner gave him medicine to rub on his body. He was anxious to enter the house. He placed his eye to a crack in the boards to ascertain what was happening within. His eye was filled with herring eggs which he had to have picked out one by one. He watched the occupants gliding about within the house, then entered and joined the processions. While the boy was under the water he learned a great deal about fish. In the spring they all started away; first, the smelt, then the herring, and so on, until all had left. He was told to choose the party in which he would go.

He chose the party composed of those who were painted—for to him they all looked human. The smelt cried out, "We served human beings before you performed such service." The salmon replied, "They did not get much out of you; only soup from your head." The herring cried out, "We served human beings before you did." The salmon answered, "They did not get much out of you; your head is too bony." Each of the fishes in turn, made their claim to priority and to each of them the salmon shouted out their own superiority. The boy's companion said, "Jump up into the canoe of your father."

He jumped toward the canoe and called to his father.

His father said, "Jump again." He knew that this was said to him merely as to a salmon, and he felt badly. He then saw his mother and his companion bade him go to her.

He called to her, "Mother, here I am." She called to her husband, "Come quickly; here is a fine big salmon." The salmon-boy was frightened and went away. His companion said, "Go to her; do not be afraid." His mother called out, "Come quickly; here is a dog salmon." A hook was put down; he switched his tail around

and was fastened on it. He knew nothing more until his mother began to clean the fish which she and her husband had taken. She could not cut off the salmon's head. Upon examining it she found around the head of the salmon the copper ring which the boy had been wearing about his neck. She called her husband, pointed the ring out to him, and they procured the services of a medicine-man. The medicine-man put the salmon in a bark bundle and placed it upon a shelf. All of the people in the village fasted for four days. At the end of this period sounds were heard proceeding from the shelf. By this they knew that all was going well, and they then broke their fast. Within eight days the boy was restored to his parents. When he grew up he became a medicine-man. (This is the origin of the treatment now accorded to all animals, the unconsumed portions of their bodies being always burned.)

The informant had heard this story from a Flathead slave who had been raised by the Tsimshian, but it is said to be a Chilkat story.

This method of restoration is referred to by Swanton. The story is found also among the Chinook and the Haida.

Other stories, patterned somewhat after the above salmon story, have to do with the other animals. In this way the children are taught never to make fun of any animals and never to torment or speak slightly of them.

### Boys

A male baby is called *t! ukáneye*; from the time a boy can walk until he is of marriageable age he is known as *atk!eyátsk!*; after this as *yegá*. From the period of puberty until marriage he is sometimes known as *yadóok*.

The training of boys is under the care of both the father and mother, the mother, of course, having most to do with them when very young. Either parent may administer punishment, though a child is seldom punished. A boy who behaves properly is treated as a grown-up person. "Some boys are as dignified and as helpful as adults. My mother treated me as she treated her own brothers. My sister believes that the average boy has as much sense as an adult. 'For,' she says, 'if you tell them something, they remember twice as long as a grown person, because there is nothing on their minds to worry them.'" There is full confidence in the efficacy of proper training: "If you start a child right it goes right all its life—there is nothing to stop it. If started wrong it goes wrong all its life. The character of the child and of the man depends altogether on how it was started and trained. My sister also believes this. She was merely repeating what my mother had told her. She never whips her children—they are too good. This is because they have been trained properly. My mother used to say to her: 'Always give the

children plenty of food so that they will not want any. Food keeps children cheerful.'

"A child can not be trained after it begins to walk. You may as well allow it to go its own way then. On the other hand you cannot begin too early. As soon as a child is born you can train it. If you overdo it, however, the child becomes crazy, foolish. After they have begun to walk you must leave them alone until they can talk. Even then the only further training you can give them is to correct them when they go wrong.

"Some boys are raised from the cradle to be hunters. If the people wish to make the child a good hunter, they bring to the cradle each morning before day-light, the skull of a wolf. This they place on a box near the child. They shake him (to rouse him?) and pant, imitating the wolf, while the child gazes at the skull. A bear's skull may be used in the same way. Sometimes the nose of a recently killed wolf or bear is cut and rubbed against the similarly cut nose of the child in order that the blood of the two may be mingled. The child when it grows up will be able to smell as well as a bear. "His nose is cut on it," is an expression equivalent to "he is very adept at it." Instead of bringing the heads to the child he is sometimes taken out in the morning before breakfast and shown the stuffed head of a wolf or of a bear. This is kept up until he can walk, that is, until the age of about two years. "After this you can put nothing into their heads—it seems to slip out." In this, as in other things, to select the wrong time of day or to continue the training too long, will result in overtraining the child and will make him foolish.

The informant's father had had the mixing-blood treatment applied to him when a child and could smell like a bear. "Once when we were out in the interior upon a mountain, my father sniffed the air and said, 'I smell white man.' No one else in the party could smell the white man. But he was right. Four white men were encamped several miles away. He had as good a nose for horses."<sup>3</sup>

Until they are about ten years of age children are not allowed to go away from the village alone, but must be in

---

<sup>3</sup> "The minute a child cried its breath was caught in a bag. Then the bag was carried to a place where many people were passing so that it might be trodden under foot. This prevented the child from crying much when it grew older.

"If a woman wanted her girl baby to become neat in later life, she put on her breast the borings that come out of a woodworm's burrow and let the child suck this substance along with her milk. Red paint was put on a child's nose to make it strong." Swanton, p. 429.

groups of two or more. Each boy has a special friend or comrade, though boys mingle freely together, with the exception of the clan distinctions above referred to. The age at which a boy will be allowed to go off and hunt alone depends upon the courage exhibited by the lad. The following incident shows something of the hardihood of younger boys and the value placed upon this quality by elders.

Two boys, ten or twelve years of age, taking with them a rifle, went out to hunt grizzly bear. Their mother wept loudly when she heard that the boys had left the village and could not be found. Their father said he believed they had gone to hunt grizzly bear. After a search of a day and a half they were found. From a ledge they had shot a bear at close range, and had removed a portion of the hide as evidence of their achievement. The father was much pleased; he had not expected the boys to become hunters so soon. One of the boys, who is now a great hunter, had been with his father on hunting expeditions and knew the surrounding country and the places which promised game. The father remarked, "That boy usually asks questions every time he sees a bear brought in; where to hunt, how to get there, etc."

The informant once saw a boy of the age of eight or nine years bringing in a lynx from his traps some ten miles away. "I congratulated the boy's father, who replied, 'Oh, he does that every day!' His father was a great trapper and the boy had learned hunting from him."

Formerly, a skilled hunter made no secret of the place where, or the manner in which, animals were to be taken. Hence, although a boy profited most from the experiences of his father if the latter was a good hunter, he might learn the tricks of the trade from any other experienced man.

#### GIRLS

Until the age of puberty boys and girls mingle freely together, participating in the same games and associating without restraint and without the supervision of their elders. After this period the girl is looked upon as having arrived at womanhood and is not allowed to play with the boys.

At puberty the girl is secluded behind a curtain or screen in the house and remains here during four moons. During this time she is attended by an older woman, a slave, if her parents own one, otherwise a sister or her mother. Previously to this she has been taught weaving and textile work; now her mother teaches her how a woman should conduct herself,

the duties of a good wife, and the conduct that will befit her from now on.

When she comes out of her seclusion she is, it is alleged, of much lighter complexion and can then marry. But she no longer has the freedom of her girlhood days. On the contrary, she must wear a long large bonnet which projects forwards and downwards so that she can see only two or three feet ahead, and when she goes out must be attended by the slave or a female relation. From puberty until marriage her hands are wrapped in cariboo thong so that they may not come into contact with any object. This is done 'to keep them tender.' She is not allowed to cook or do other work, for she must be kept as 'pure' as possible.

A girl baby is called *t!ukáneye*; from the time she can walk and talk until puberty, she is *satk!átsko*; from then until middle age she is *yésawat*; after this she is known as *sawát*.

The father takes no part in the training and teaching of girls. Until the age of puberty he may punish them. After they have passed through the puberty ceremony he has no authority over them except as regards their marriage, for which his consent as well as that of their mother is necessary.

Girls are admonished to be quiet and not cry. They are constantly reminded, 'You are girls and not boys.' They have little say in the selection of a husband, the marriage being arranged by the parents. Girls are said to be more gregarious than boys. A girl does not have a chum or special friend as does a boy.

#### THE AGED

The care of aged parents generally falls to their daughters. Women have a more tender feeling for their parents than do men. Sometimes, however, they go to live with one of their sons, especially if one of the latter is wealthy and the daughters are poor.

The old women braid and prepare the sinew and ropes but most of their time is given to teaching the children. The aged are respected, and it is a disgrace to permit others to support the grand-parents if the grand-children are able to do so. "I have seen a poor married couple support their grand-parents and refuse help from the chief." A man is under especial obligation to provide for his maternal grandmother.

#### POSITION AND INFLUENCE OF WOMEN

The economic tasks of women differ considerably from those of men. The men do the hunting, fishing and wood-

cutting, the women the basketry and quill work.<sup>4</sup> Yet women may do men's work. "So much the better if they can do men's work. My aunt and my wife's aunt used to wear men's clothing, when out of the village, and do men's work. If a man wove baskets or did any of the tasks proper to the women the people would make fun of him. They would say he was more a woman than a man. I know a man who sews, weaves and does women's work; he is called a *g!áthau*, which means, half man half woman. In the olden days the people would kill such a man. It was thought a disgrace that a strong man should act like a woman.

Men and women have their distinctive dress and neither sex may use the garments of the others. A woman of sound judgment is much respected. She may speak at the tribal meetings and her words will receive the attention which they merit.

#### DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

A child is buried in the simplest manner; so is a woman who has shown no special merit. To the body of a man who has done a great deal for the tribe considerable attention is shown. When, for example, the informant's father died, the Raven moiety was invited to participate, members from the neighboring villages coming in large numbers to sympathise and pay respect. They marched through the village dressed in their best clothing. The informant's grandfather was the first Chilkat to be buried, cremation having been practised up until that time.

The body of a still-born child was placed in a box and cremated. They put it back into the place from which it had come, that is, into the spirit realm. Old people are looked upon as having done their duty and are respected at death in much the same manner as the wealthy. If the deceased were a poor man the survivors contributed money and clothing. Should relations make much ado over the burial of a man of no account people would laugh at them. A chief's funeral is an important affair, lasting from eight to ten days, in which everyone participates. When Shotridge's maternal grandfather, a moiety chief, died, all the members of this moiety stopped work for eight days, dressed in their best clothes and paraded through the village. Large pipes were provided for the three or four hundred people from without the village who had been invited to the funeral. The relations of the

<sup>4</sup> Krause says that both men and women assist in mending the snowshoes, a part being assigned to each sex. p. 208.

deceased told stories and sang songs relating to the merits of the deceased. The entire moiety of which he was chief were active participants and the complementary moiety was invited to attend. His popularity had been such that the entire tribe wished to help in raising the totem pole over his grave. But Shotridge and his brothers refused the proffered aid and erected the totem pole without other assistance.

The body of the deceased is respected because "it is the custom and you cannot get away from it. If you did not do something it would be like a dog's grave. You must not allow a human being to lie like a dog." Moreover, the dead are helped by what is done for them.